2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 [539] "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrior), but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*; 561 554 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

[582] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[185] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[186] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] [392] [301] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women earrings (*surutya*) on him.[187]

[783] [685] A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[185] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[186] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[187] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife.

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonials have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight " (it must be four or eight) " head of the initiate's cattle, end he hits each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him. [158] The ceremony is now complete.

FOSBROOKE, [159] makes reference to a similar ceremony " by which a *moran* is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle ". [160] He then remarks that " this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the *ngeherr* ceremony ". This indicates that " that *ngeherr* of milk " must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognised only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of " the *ngeherr* of meat ". We are informed by FOX, [161] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as " the second *ol-ngesher* ceremony, called the *Ol-ngesher* of meat ". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman.

The *ngeherr* proper is the closing ceremony which finally institutes the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but acknowledged and accepted throughout Masailand. [162] The ceremony is briefly described by MERKER, [163] as follows: " when all the members

[158] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not conceived while he was still uninitiated, or by the two women together.

[159] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.

[160] The expression " his wife's cattle " sounds inaccurate and indefinite. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[161] FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 453 s.

[162] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30, states that the ceremony " is traditionally held at *oldonyo loo 'l morusk* (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanyas, Moshi District.

[163] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

The *Lytunu* is a warrior elected by a number of kraals as their captain or leader, with absolute power of life and death. He is their judge in cases of dispute. He directs their battles, though, curiously enough, he does not lead his men, but, like the general of a civilized army, he stands aside and watches the progress of the fight under the direct command of the *Lygonani*. If, however, he sees symptoms of his men wavering, he forthwith precipitates himself with his body-guard into the battle. Of course he holds his office purely on sufferance, and if he fails to give satisfaction he is summarily deposed. This, indeed, is almost the only attempt at a form of government. Each war-district elects its own *Lytunu*. The *Lygonani*, again, is a very different personage. He is the public leader of a kraal, leads and guides the debate in cases of dispute. To be such arrogant and pugnacious savages, the Masai are the most remarkable speakers and debaters imaginable. In some American novels we have the Indian belauded for his eloquence and dignity; but commend me to the Masai for grace and oratorical power, for order and decorum in debate; and, indeed, for most of the good qualities which in these days are conspicuous by their absence in our own House of Talking. Not that their genius in this line is always worthily applied; for in their finical persistency in talking out a question they might even beat our Parliamentary Obstructionists. They will spend days discussing the most trivial matter—nothing, indeed, can be settled without endless talk. But we must proceed with our history.

The *Lytunu* and *Lygonani* having been elected, a raid to the coast was determined on. For a month they devoted themselves to an indispensable, though somewhat revolting, preparation. This consisted in their retiring in small parties to the forest, and there gorging themselves with beef. This they did under the belief that they were storing up a supply of muscle and ferocity of the most pronounced type. This strange process being finished, and the day fixed on, the women of the kraal went outside before sunrise, with grass dipped in the cream of a cow's milk. Then they danced and invoked Ngai for a favourable issue to the enterprise, after which they threw the grass in the direction of the enemy. The young men spent several hours at their devotions, howling out in the most ludicrous street-singer fashion, "Aman Ngái-ái! Aman Mbarátien!" (We pray to God! We pray to Mbaratien!"). Previous to this, how-

is called an *ol emal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol emal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engibata;* for this, the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

881
561

francolin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *laibartan* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *oringoiles*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

881
561
302

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a [431] spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a [411] warrior. [714]

56
10
361

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (*see* below).

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

561

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *oriokiani*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ox-seizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *jangienabur* and *murategediengo*.

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *jangienabur* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *jangienabur* and a *murategediengo*, must move out together, leaving the next *jangienabur* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *murategediengo*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *jangienabur*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sumubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kesheck el morua*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*.

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunoto* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunoto* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die.

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *'Lolkurtan* (see Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :—

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or eat meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Sipolio, plur. *I-Sipolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.)

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e intoro* — the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kedyanga* — the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiapi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Saloosh*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol eji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (a) Loita and Siria. (b) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kimonjo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name.

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 303, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names see History, *infra*.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

561
535

FIG. 1.

411
561
535

FIG. 2.

791
634
291

FIG. 4.

561
634
411
301

FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—Lolo E-Dash. WARRIORS DANCING IN THE MANYATTA. SUNG BY RACHEMOTTA.
FIG. 2.—Lolo E-Dash. WARRIORS DANCING.
FIG. 3.—Lolo E-Dash. OL-OTUNA, OL-KERIA ENGAI AND L-ENYEMAI (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-MEMUNA BUT IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 4.—SIDAI WITH THE RITUAL CLOTH OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
Loita
[P.107-A]

561 135 **The 'E-Unoto' Ceremony of the Masai.** *By Lord Cling Hamilton. With three text figures*

The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *en-poloana*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *En-poloana* is followed by *en-dunguro* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be called *en-kipaata*; and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14–17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former, but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

[535]

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-unoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *murran* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *murran*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-unoto* is derived from the verb *e-un*, to plant upright or set up (*i.e.* a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *eunyata* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *murran* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

[342]
[361]

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 49 *murran* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 49 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ol-Oiboni*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *murani* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ol-Oiboni* is regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

[983]

After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singira*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow-dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singira*, the *Ol-Oiboni* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysophylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-is-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singira* faces that of the *Ol-Oiboni*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

[346]

[339]

The *e-unoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10–13 June, 1959, at Entuarkera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Deregyani*.

561
535

The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 'The Day of the Red Dance.' At dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
FL12 Masai FL12
Loita
[p. 107-B]

SHORTER NOTES

561
535
[237]
[292]

calling on every man to love his neighbour, and the crowd then call '*Hoi-yior*' three times—a form of 'amen.' In the centre of the arena—about 70 yards across—some long poles were 'set up' in the ground. To the tops of these were tied some of the ostrich-feather headdresses which Masai *moran* like to wear; and on the branches of nearby trees were more of these and also a number of the conical hats made from lions' manes—not unlike guardsmens' bearskins—which are worn on ceremonial occasions by those who have killed a lion with a spear.

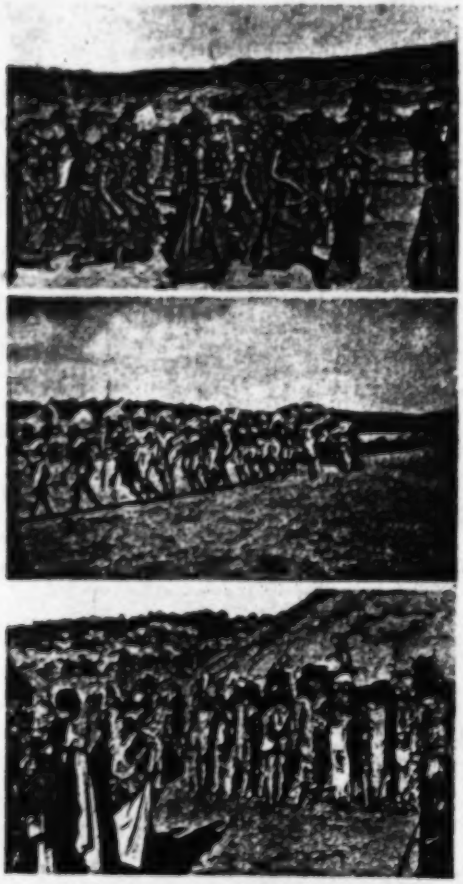

FIG 1. THE E-UNOTO, FIRST AND SECOND DAYS

Above, the Red Dance, girls and warriors dancing; middle, the White Dance, diatomite-smeared warriors dancing; below, the White Dance, bowing to the O-Singira. Photographs: Lord Claud Hamilton, 1959

[292]
[302]

The *moran* taking part in the Red Dance wear a single garment consisting of a length of russet-coloured calico knotted over the right shoulder and hanging down to the thighs. Their hair is worn shoulder-length (a feature of the young men of pastoral tribes of

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[p. 108 - A] FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

East Africa), and the whole body is smeared, from the crown of the head down, with a mixture of red mud and beef fat. The dancers gather together into groups of a dozen or more, all facing inwards towards a small open space. One young man steps forward into this space, makes a few prancing dance steps, and then starts to jump perpendicularly up and down, his long hair flying up above his head into a kind of halo at the top of each jump.

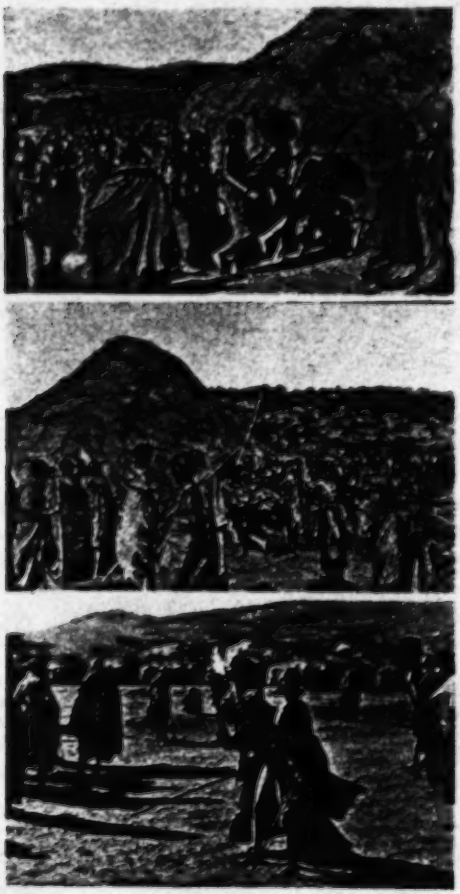

FIG. 2. THE DAY OF THE SACRED HUT

Above, warriors leading their families round the O-Singira; middle, the warriors throwing fits; below, warrior with feather headdress throwing a fit

Meanwhile the other dancers chant and grunt, awaiting their turn to jump. Now and then this type of dancing was abandoned and the dancers formed up to single file, going in procession back and forth across the centre of the *manyatta*. As the number of dancers increased, the young men became more and more excited and soon a number were throwing fits. Foaming at the mouth, eyes staring, arms rigid at right angles to the body the sufferers stagger wildly about until friends come to their aid and hold them down. These fits are caused by the habit of drinking an infusion of the

16:Hamilton U-5 (1959) 1963
[P. 108-B] FL12 Masai FL12
Loita

bark of certain trees, a relic of the old cattle-raiding days, for when the fit has passed the sufferer loses all fear and is ready for battle. An unusual feature of the drug is that, once in a man's system, its effects last for life, and, given sufficient excitement, the man is liable to fits for the rest of his days.

The second day of *e-unoto* is called 'The Day of the White Dance.' Soon after sunrise the *muran* went off into the bush to

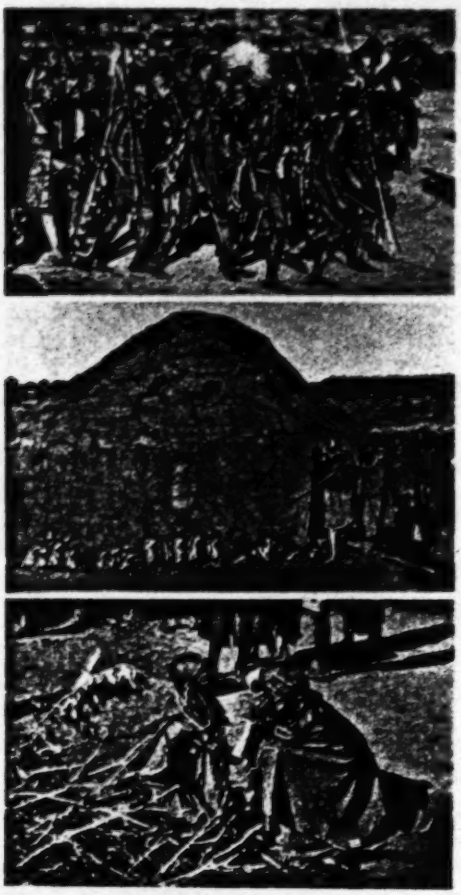

FIG. 3. E-UNOTO CEREMONIAL

Above, some of the 49 'Pure Ones' dancing with their comrades; middle, the Ol-Oruno, *who is the first to be shaved, and who wears white diatomite on face and legs, leads his family round the* O-Singira; *below, a mother shaving her son's eyebrows as he sits on the beaded circumcision hide.*

paint their bodies with diatomite. This white, chalklike substance is brought on foot from the Eburru Mountains near Naivasha in The Rift Valley. To bring it, two senior *muran* of good character are chosen, and they go off dressed in women's clothing and ornaments, carrying bamboo staves and cattle-branding tools as a sign that they are on a peaceful errand. Nearing the destination they stalk the diatomite as if it were game. Then they give the

561 535 [387] [574] [262] warcery of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop. They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group [534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

561 [302] [413] Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family [825] [554] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barri- [189] cades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on [351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
• 535 over the kraal of the married (eŋg aŋ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/56 cont./

553 afternoon the festive company sits down in a circle under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy ol gorog, that is, the short one, because he is still quite short for his age, whereas another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the steppe a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the name Mosorik (from e'-mosorik = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the woman (1)

1. That it is he who does this, and not the husband, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. She [551] mentions the name Ol loñgischu = cattle owner (2),

2. Obsolete in this meaning; the name Ol oñgischu now means that its bearer, for the price of a head of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old one immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out "daba rischori ñ gischu n daré (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads (es segerai, segera; e msitani, msitan) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. Here lie the thorny branches that are pulled into the enclosure at night to shut up the kraal. They are danced around with short, [535] [533] [782]

/56 cont./

553
535
538
782

stamping steps, whereby, singing, it is prayed to 'Ng ai that he may let the boy become big and /57/ make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here; then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng ai. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely

137
535
291

C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 16. Dancing women.

553

a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, an elder brother of the mother or,

/57 cont./

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, gives it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whereas the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name as a warrior, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /58/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the [714] warriors assemble toward evening in their kraal; they squat together, • [535] with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the ones concerned, they are celebrated in improvised texts. The names refer to warrior virtues, military events, or even costumes that the ones honored today wore on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next four or five days in a neighboring kraal, to which the ones newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

551 Names that the mother or father give to their small sons, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Kaiga = the long one who can reach up high; Lesehga, from es segehgei = iron wire; Masagga, after the like-named area; Jäkŏn, after a former chief of this name; Barteĭlto, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the son acquire so many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great; Ol oŋgoscho = pesa, the copper coin com- [301] monly used in East Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was very popular among the Masai as an ornament and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear; Lebeleb = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lassawoi = the clever one; Kohoge or Sabug = the fat one; Narondari = the goat-milk drinker; Araĭjo or Matanje = darling; Ngaije = given by God; Nasilani, after a tree called silani, whose

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is [292] then designated as ehg añ 'n aibage 'l aijok. Decked out with a [535] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in- [533] stead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en dobollo, en daret ijōk, en dabo loscho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to 881 repeat it there. In this way an eñ gebāta often lasts a month. It is 842 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festivals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con- 881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcisionless years ('l ari otudunyeki 'l aijok) a [231] similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the eñ gebāta festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the [302] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal [292] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

881 /63 cont./
[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
showed himself to be a tóróno. While the old people, as long as
• [535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing
with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night.
Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which
the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little
more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears
here./

[158] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went
into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a
superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten
this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[411] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[223] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not
use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only
for this occasion: the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the
tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds,
the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they
place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the es sibolio (sing. os siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on
each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en
doroto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat,
they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol
gĭne l ol benek (ol gĭne = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree
with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their
excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

881
591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior
kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

[Warrior Kraal]

701
578
682
[613]
[614]
[669]

/88 cont./ of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

701
535
291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

701
578
682
[613]
[614]
[669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

[192]
[926]

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djóre (n djorîn) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

701
574

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./

701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daā e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

701
535
291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daā e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short,
• 535 stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies.
701 As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent ap-
[836] proaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an
[832] invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in
[533] similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accom-
panied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701
535

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. $\frac{3}{4}$ C. G. Schillings phot.

512
701
[234] Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked,
[264] the people take the evening meal (en dáĭ e téĭba = food in the even-
[272] ing), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors
[535] and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to
the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to
moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the
512 mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while
234
1, [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite
A the differences in captions, apparently were
both taken at the same location, with only a
slight time differential--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 [234] before the milking is finished, then the calves are allowed to go to the cows for about an hour, and finally /91/ the former must again be separated and shut up, so that there will be enough milk in the morning. At ten o'clock it becomes quiet, the people retire into the huts, except for the boys who lie down to sleep on the ground beside the goats.

136 The silence lying over the vast steppe is broken only now and then by the howl of the spotted hyena (Hyaena crocuta), reminiscent of the whistle of a siren, more rarely by the hoarse laughter of the striped hyena (Hyaena striata and Hyaena Schillingsi). Sometimes 825 the roar and growl of a lion can also be heard, and if the latter slinks about silently sometime, one becomes aware of its approach

• 535 701

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 35. Dance in the war camp IV.

825 by the behavior of the cattle: they snort, stamp, and crowd together, or race wildly through the kraal. Then a number of women immediately hasten out of the huts, in order to drive away the beast of prey by shrill, trilling cries (ol gijoi). A few intrepid warriors also 000

/141 cont./

301 304 In order to make the ears suitable for holding ornaments, their lobes are pierced in early childhood with a strong acacia thorn and distended by the insertion of longer and longer wooden plugs. The [824] plugs (Figs. 43 a and b) are mostly made out of the wood of the [531] eń gadardar tree (Ochna Merkeri Glig), often quite beautifully marked. The weight of the ornaments enlarges the holes still more, so that they often hang down extended ten centimeters. At the same time the upper edge of the ear is also pierced in one or two places. 301 In these the women wear bunches of four to eight small chains to 20 [237] centimeters long (Fig. 44); the men wear just as many el oímér [136] (sing. ol oiméri), a clock-key--shaped ornament made out of tin (Figs. 45 a and c) or out of brass wire (Fig. 45 b), often also a pesa on a wire ring, a polished mussel shell, which ornament /142/ is called eń jili (n jil) (Fig. 46), or a wooden stick 15 centimeters long (ol benieť, el benieťa [Fig. 47, upper part]), or a quill of the porcupine (oiaiai or oéai, Hystrix africae-australis). Around the lower part of the enlarged ring of skin of the ear lobe the men wear a tube four centimeters long (ol gisól, el gísso [Fig. 47]), wound out of thin iron wire, /Figs. 47-51 appear here/ whose end coils are wrapped with copper wire, while on the rest of the coils usually hang small chains 6 to 20 centimeters long (ol bisiái, el bísia). If these are only short, they are as a rule glued together with red paint (Fig. 48). In place of this ornament one also often sees an oval, [824] perforated tin disk (eń goholái, ń gohóla) and other things, or a nut-shaped ornament that /143/ is carved out of the nut of the Hyphaena palm (Fig. 49). Married women and old men wear, tied in the ear lobes with a thin strap, the large double spirals (e (e surudiai, surudia) made out of thick brass wire. They are supported by a leather strap put over the crown of the head, since, because of their great weight, the ear lobe is unable to do so. It is [531] regarded as particularly beautiful if they are further decorated with a leather band sewed across them and stitched with four rows of small beads, on which hangs a row of small chains. This decoration, which, incidentally, is found only among women, is called ol giriéngata. For dancing, young girls often wear a string of beads • [535] (Fig. 50) around the forehead and occiput, or two strings of beads lying one above the other an inch apart (Fig. 51), which are joined, ladderlike, with small chains. The ornament is called er náltule.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 189]